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*The CASE of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts
Bay^{Colonies} New-England, with respect to the Expences they
were at in taking and securing Cape Breton.*

25 Jan.
1744.

GOVERNOR Shirley having proposed to the General Court, or Assembly of the said Province, the making an Attempt on *Cape Breton*, and the General Court being convinced that a much fairer Opportunity for reducing it to His Majesty's Obedience did then offer, than ever would probably present again to the *English*, they determined, notwithstanding the apparent Difficulties and Hazard of the Design, to embrace it, and to apply forthwith to the Governments of *New-York*, the *Jerseys*, *Pensilvania*, *New-Hampshire*, *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island*, for their Assistance.

26 Jan.

Both Houses of Assembly voted that the Governor should be desired to urge the Captains of the King's Ships in the Province to convoy the Forces upon the Expedition, as being an Affair of the greatest Importance to *Great Britain*, and to all His Majesty's Colonies.

And an Embargo was laid on all Vessels in the Ports of the Province, and a Representation of the said designed Enterprize was transmitted to His Majesty's Secretary of State, entreating that His Majesty would send such Naval Force as in His great Wisdom He should think proper to support the Execution thereof.

February.

Divers armed Vessels were prepared to cruize off *Louisbourg* to cut off all early Supplies and Intelligence; two of which were hired by the *Massachusetts* Province at *Newport*, *Rhode Island*: And several of these Vessels got upon the Enemy's Coast in *March*, and continued to cruize off *Louisbourg* in the most severe Weather; where, besides other Services, they beat off a *French* Ship of War of Thirty Guns, mann'd with Three hundred and fifty Men, and prevented her delivering the publick Dispatches wherewith she was charged to the Governor of *Louisbourg*; though being a prime Sailor she continued on the Coast a considerable Time, and made divers Attempts, but to no Purpose.

Proclamations having been issued to encourage the Enlistment of Men, the Enlistments were carried on, Transport Vessels prepared, and Warlike and other Stores provided, together with Battering Cannon, and Shot for the Enemy's Guns of large Bore, hoping and expecting to take some from them, wherewith to batter the Town.

24 March.

The Soldiers being enlisted, disciplined, armed and collected together at *Boston*, the Metropolis of the said Province, and the Officers appointed and commissioned, the Troops embarked with their Stores and Necessaries, and on the 24th of *March* they sailed.—The Force of the said Province employed in this Seige consisted of 3500 Officers and Soldiers, who were embarked on board Seventy-two Transports, navigated by 500 Seamen, and of nine armed Vessels, mann'd with 950 Men.

Application having been made to all the Colonies as far as *Virginia* for Aid in this Undertaking, the *Massachusetts* Province, to their great Disappointment, could obtain none from any of the other Governments, save 500 Land Forces and their Guard Sloop, from the Colony of *Connecticut*; 300 Men and upwards from the Province of *New-Hampshire*, and their Guard Sloop from the Colony of *Rhode Island*.

The Captains of the King's Ships of War in the Province, although they were inclined to support as far as they could this publick-spirited Enterprize, being under a Necessity of prosecuting the particular Services for which they were appointed, could not convoy the Troops on this Service; For which Reason the Forces proceeded without their Protection.

Before the Departure of the said Troops, some of the *Indian* Tribes, who live on the Borders of this Province, with whom Peace had been for some Time established, influenced by the Enemy, changed their Behaviour towards the *English*, and threatened War; notwithstanding which, the Troops sailed and landed, and took Possession of *Canso*, one of the principal Places for carrying on the *English* Fishery, which the Enemy had taken the Year before. There they were joined by Sir *Peter Warren* with several of His Majesty's Ships of War, in Virtue of Orders from the Lords of Admiralty to assist and support the Execution of this Enterprize.

From *Canso* the Troops sailed for *Cape Breton*, where they landed, defeating a Party sent out to prevent them, and invested the City of *Louisbourg*; a City regularly fortified, garrisoned by *French* and *Swiss* Soldiers, and defended by a Hundred Cannon mounted, besides, one Battery of Twenty-eight Guns, 42 Pounders, and two 18 Pounders; and another of Thirty Cannon, 28 Pounders; a Place so strong by Nature and Art, that *Monf. Du Quesnell*, who lately died Commander of it, an Officer of Experience in the Sea as well as Land Service, used often to declare, that, fully manned, it was an Overmatch for the united Navies of *Britain* and *France*.

These Troops, during a Siege of seven Weeks, having with the most unwearied Courage and Resolution grappled with such Toils and Difficulties, as none but Men determined to conquer would have surmounted, did, with the Assistance of the 42 Pounders taken from the Enemy at the Grand Battery, and for which they had previously provided Ball, batter this strong Fortrefs into such a ruinous Condition, that the Enemy was obliged to surrender it, with the whole Island of *Cape Breton* and its Dependencies, to His Majesty's Obedience. The Particulars of all which are set forth in Governor *Shirley's* Letter to his Grace the Duke of *Newcastle*, published by Authority, and herewith delivered.

The Consequence of this Expedition was not only the gaining the Island of *Cape Breton*, and breaking up the *French* Fishery, but was the Preservation of the *English* Fishery and Settlements; whereas had not this Expedition been made, the Enemy would that same Year have undoubtedly compleated their Conquest of *Nova Scotia*, have seized also a great Part of the Country which supplies the Royal Navy with Masts, have broke up the *English* Fishery, and distressed greatly the Trade of *England* to and from her own Colonies.

For

For these Purposes, six or seven Ships of War sailed from *France* while this Expedition was carrying on, but returned after they had prosecuted more than Half their Voyage, upon Advice that *Cape Breton* was, at that Time, in the Hands of the *English*.

The Difference caused by this Expedition in Point of Power and Profit between the two Nations must appear great, if it be considered that the *French* Share of this Fishery was their principal Nursery of Seamen, maintaining them upwards of 27,000 Fishermen and Seamen, the Fishermen being, or soon becoming good Seamen; and produced them yearly Fish and Oyl to the Value of about a Million *Sterling*, besides the Profits of the Trades dependent on the Fishing Trade; and that *Nova Scotia*, preserved by this Expedition, is a Country of the last Consequence to this Kingdom, as it fronts a hundred Leagues upon the *Atlantic* Ocean; is fertile and healthful, abounds with Naval Stores and excellent Harbours; has the Fishing Banks before it, and is inhabited by Persons who are *French* in their Descent, Religion, Language, and Customs, and too far so in their Inclinations; and which contains at least 6 or 7000 Men, all well acquainted with Arms, besides the *Indian* Inhabitants who are wholly attach'd to the Enemy; and which Country, from its Situation and other Advantages, the Enemy, not without Reason, look upon as the principal Point which must one Day determine the Power and Dominion in the Continent of *America* to the *English* or *French*.

To carry on this Expedition the said Province used their Stores in their Magazines; and for Want of Money issued Bills of Credit, of different Values, in the Form following.

" N^o () Thirty Shillings.
 " This Bill of Thirty Shillings, due to the Possessor thereof from the Province of the Massachu-
 " setts Bay, shall be equal to Four Ounces of coin'd Silver, Troy Weight, of Sterling Al-
 " loy, or Gold Coin, at the Rate of Five Pounds Ten Shillings and Three-pence per Ounce,
 " and shall be so accepted in all Payments in the Treasury, agreeable to Act of
 " Assembly 1744.

" By Order of the General Court or Assembly,

} Committee.

The Expence of the Province in Taking, Repairing and Securing *Louisbourg*, till May 1746, when His Majesty's regular Forces came to defend it, amounted to 261,700 l. 0 s. 3 d. in the Bills aforesaid; 193,800 l. whereof was emitted in the Months of February 1744, and of May and July 1745. The Value in *Sterling* Money of the said Sum of 261,700 l. 0 s. 3 d. in those Bills, at the Time the Expedition was agreed upon, and the Services contracted for, was 183,649 l. 2 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. as appears by the Report made to the Lords of the Treasury; and which *Sterling* Sum is nearly equal in Value to the Number of Ounces of Silver expressed in the Bills themselves. Those Bills are now so far depreciated, that they have lost near Half their Value since the Expedition was made. Their current Value, at the Time of the Departure of the last Ships from *Boston*, as appears also by the same Report, was 104,680 l. *Sterling*; making a Difference of 78,969 l. 2 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Sterling*.

And it is now made a Question, Whether the said Province ought to be paid a *Sterling* Sum equal in Value to the Sum in Bills of Credit expended upon the Expedition, according to the Value of those Bills at the Time the Expedition was agreed upon, and the Expence contracted for, or, only, a *Sterling* Sum equal to the Value of those Bills in their present depreciated State.

The Inhabitants of the said Province, nevertheless, apprehend they are in Justice and Equity intitled to the said Sum of 183,649 l. 2 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Sterling*, and ought not to lose the said Sum of 78,969 l. 2 s. 7 d. $\frac{1}{2}$. *Sterling*, for these, among many other

R E A S O N S.

I. Because the Bills, emitted on that Occasion, were laid out in the Purchase of Provisions, Warlike and other Stores and Necessaries; the Hire of Transport and other Vessels; and given in Pay to the Officers and Soldiers, at Rates proportionate to the current Value of the Bills at the Time the Expedition was agreed upon; and which could not be purchased under almost double the Sum in the present depreciated Bills: So that they answered the End of that very Sum in *Sterling* Money, which is demanded by the Province.

And as the Inhabitants of the Province, in their politic Capacity, gave their Bills of Credit, private Persons, Inhabitants of the Province, received them in Exchange for their Goods and Services: And they, with other Inhabitants, now are the Possessors of them. Wherefore if Payment should be made according to the fallen Value of the Bills only, it would be but Half Payment, and the Province must in that Case lose the other Half.

II. The Sum due became so when the Expedition was made, and the real Debt then made cannot be diminished by Delay of Payment.

III. The said Province's overstraining their Credit to prosecute the Expedition, their bearing the great Weight of the War in all that Quarter; but chiefly the Delay of Payment of the Expences of this Expedition has caused the Sinking of the Bills in their Value. Their Fall, during the Course of the Expedition, was gradual, and no more than was to be expected from so great a Sum's being issued necessarily thereupon; insomuch that in February 1746-7, two Years after the Expedition was undertaken, Nine Shillings in these Bills would purchase an Ounce of Silver in the Province: The great Fall has happen'd since; so that in May last it required Twelve Shillings and Six-pence in those Bills to purchase an Ounce of Silver there.

Together with these Bills all the other Currency is sunk. The Sinking of all the Currency of a Country so far as to reduce every Shilling to Six-pence or near it, is doubtless a great and manifest Grievance; and at the same Time an undeniable Proof of the general Distress of the Country where it happens.

And



And as the Delay of Payment of the Expences of taking *Cape Breton* has chiefly caused the sinking of the Bills, it is submitted, whether to make that very sinking the Cause of diminishing the Sum finally paid, would not be a very hard Case upon the said Province.

IV. By the same Reason that the Demand may be paid off with the lesser Sum, upon a longer Delay, whereby the Bills would be farther depreciated, the Sum paid might be still farther diminished. Were Payment to be delayed another Year, and the Bills go on to fall as they have lately done, they would then be worth but about one quarter Part of what they were worth at first; and in that Case, according to the Reason which governs the Payment of the lesser Sum, Payment ought then to be made only of one half of that Sum. And upon a farther Delay and consequent Diminution of the Value of the Bills, the Payment of a still less Sum might serve to satisfy and discharge the Demand.

V. By an Act passed in the said Province, in the Fifteenth Year of His present Majesty's Reign, and approved by His Majesty in Council, it is provided, "*That if the Bills at any Time emitted be depreciated, or commonly pass at any lower Rate than they were set at when emitted, in such Case the Justices of the respective Courts shall give Judgment for so much in Silver as the true Debt appears to be; and in Want thereof, for so much in said Province Bills, with the Addition of so much more as will make Amends for the depreciating said Bills from their first stated Value.*" And it is humbly submitted, whether the same Rule of Justice and Equity ought not now to take Place between this Kingdom and its own Infant-Colony; which by the said Act is provided and directed to take Place between His Majesty's Subjects within the same Colony. This Remedy was provided against the Injustice of Persons suffering, upon their giving Credit, by that gradual Fall of the Bills which heretofore took Place. And as the great Quantity of Bills emitted by the Province, for the Sake of this Expedition, and for Maintenance of the extraordinary consequent Wars, and, principally, the Delay of Payment of the Expences arisen by the Expedition, have occasioned the Currency of the Country to fall lately in *Four Months*, as much almost as it did formerly in *Fifteen Years*, before the making of this Act; it is submitted whether there be not greater Reason for the Equity of the Act's taking Place in this Case, than upon any less Occasion.

VI. This Expedition was conducted with great Frugality, as Sir *Peter Warren*, who was a Witness of the Service, and, together with Sir *William Pepperrell*, the General, examined the said Province's whole Account of Expence, has declared to the Lords of Trade and the Secretary at War, as appears by their Report thereupon to His Majesty: And the Sums demanded by all the Colonies, for their Expences in taking and securing *Cape Breton*, during the Time abovementioned, amounting in the Whole only to 235,201 *l. 7 s. 10 d. ÷ Sterling*, are conceived by the Colonies to be very moderate, considering the great Strength and Importance of the Place taken: And that an Expedition from hence, for making this invaluable Acquisition, would certainly have cost a far greater Sum, whether successful or not.

VII. By the said Report of the Lords of Trade and Secretary at War, it appears, that "His Grace the Duke of *Newcastle* having, by a Letter of the 10th of *August* 1745, been pleased to direct, that until a regular Establishment should be made at *Louisbourg*, Bills should be drawn upon the Pay-master General of His Majesty's Forces, the Treasurer of the Navy, or the Treasurer of the Ordnance, for such Sums as should be expended, relative to those several Offices, he the said Admiral and General *Pepperrell* thought themselves authorized to draw Bills upon the Pay-master General for so much of the Expence charged in the said Province's Account, as was become due after the Reduction of the Place: And that they offered to draw Bills accordingly; but that the said Province chose rather to have the said Expence included in their General Account, and submit the Whole together to His Majesty's Pleasure." — Had this Offer, thus made by the Admiral and General to the General Court or Assembly of the said Province, been accepted by them, the Bills drawn by the Admiral and General for so much of the Expence, charged in the said Account as was become due after the Reduction of the Place only, would have amounted at least to the said Sum of 104,680 *l. Sterling*, which has been since proposed to be paid to the Province in full Satisfaction of their whole Demand for their Expence in taking and keeping *Cape Breton*, and thereby a great Part of the Objection made to the said Province's Demand would have been wholly prevented. And it is humbly submitted, whether the said Province ought to suffer in any Measure in Consequence of an Act so full of Loyalty and Respect to His Majesty. And it is also submitted, whether so much of the Expence, charged in the said Account as was become due at the Time of the Reduction of the Place, that is to say, for the actual Beating of the Enemy out of their strong Hold, was not in Nature, Truth and Justice, as well ascertained at the Time of Performance of that Service, as the Charge for preserving the Acquisition would have been, by drawing Bills of Exchange for *Sterling* Money for the same.

VIII. The Consequence to the said Province of their making this Expedition, whereby *Cape Breton* was gained, the Designs of the Enemy upon *Nova Scotia* were defeated, and their making Conquests upon the Possessions of the *English* on the Continent of *America*, with a Rapidity equal to that wherewith they have conquer'd the Possessions of the Allies of the *English* on the Continent of *Europe* was prevented, has been the bringing of a sharp War into their own Country. After the taking of *Cape Breton*, the Governor of *Canada* sent a Message to the six Nations of *Indians*, wherein he told them, among other Things, *That he would from that Time turn his Indians on their most inveterate Enemies of New-England.* And a great Part of the said Province has been almost ever since a constant Scene of Slaughter and Devastation; and to shew the great Expence and Hardships that have fallen upon the said Province in maintaining the War, it may in some Measure suffice to observe, that the same Year wherein they prosecuted the *Cape Breton* Expedition, they not only employed therein the said

Number of 3500 Men by Land, and about 1500 by Sea, but they made a second Embarkation of 674 Officers and Soldiers to maintain the Expedition, which did not arrive till after the Surrender of *Louisbourg*. And they afterwards still raised more Men to supply the Place of those who died at *Louisbourg*, of those who were taken sick there, and of those whose Wives and Children at Home were daily in imminent Danger of being killed by the Savages; and divers Tribes breaking out into open War, in Conjunction with those who had made War upon the said Province before, and being led on, encourag'd and supported by the *French* of *Canada*, the Province was obliged that same Year to raise above 2000 Men for their own Defence, making in the Whole 8000 Men at the least; the whole Number of Men of all Degrees in the said Province, who have Ability of Body to bear Arms, being at the most but about 35,000, numbering all who are Sixteen Years old and upwards. The next Year they were under a Necessity of augmenting their Forces for the Defence of their own Frontiers to about 3000 Men, a very large and uncommon Number for this poor Province; and yet notwithstanding all, so many of their Towns and Settlements have been broken up by the repeated and fierce Attacks of the *French* and their *Indian* Allies, that a great Part of the Country is become wholly desolate; and it is now difficult to say, which are greater, their Services or their Sufferings; but it is certain, that their Distresses are so pressing, that if they be not soon supported effectually, and great Alteration made in their Circumstances, they must be quite ruined and broke up, whereby the *English* will lose the Benefit of their ancient and principal Barrier against the Power of the *French* in *America*.

IX. For that no solid Reason can be given, why the Public should not satisfy this Debt according to the *Sterling* Value of the Bills of Credit at the Time the Expedition was determined upon and the Services agreed for, or why the Public should avail themselves of the Discount that has been occasioned by the Delay that hath been in Discharging this Debt, and by the manifold Miseries fallen upon the said Province in Consequence of their publick Services. The granting a Sum equal only to their present fallen Value, will be in Effect paying the Colony about Eleven Shillings in the Pound on their actual Disburse; whereas it is humbly submitted, the Zeal and Alacrity with which they enter'd into and perfected this great Enterprize, and all the Circumstances of their hard Case, give them a Title to hope for a full Satisfaction and effectual Support from a *British* Parliament.



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